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VERGIL'S GODS

I have, like Tennyson, loved Vergil 'since my life began.' Pleasures and enlightenment have come to me through eye and ear and heart and mind from his noble melodies. Each year I have the good fortune to work with students in him for greater or shorter periods. This summer

(1942) I have pretty nearly lived with him and Homer. Better company could hardly be found in these terrific days, for, while they transport one into far-off times and places, they do not take one away from life today. Rather, in them one hears, enriched by the years between, 'the still sad music of humanity.'

Vergil was a philosophic religious poet, who wrote more or less under order from Augustus' 'New Deal' a patriotic poem. But he found a way to make that patriotic poem convey the whole history of Rome as well as reveal his own mind and heart. A religious man and a philosophic poet, he belonged to no sect, religious or philosophic. When he wrote sectarianism was primarily philosophic and moral, the philosophic involving the natural sciences and the moral involving both morals and theology. Theological dogmatism hardly existed at all. 'The conditions and the aims of life are both represented in religion poetically, but this poetry tends to arrogate to itself literal truth and moral authority, neither of which it possesses.¹ This tendency to mistake poetic for literal truth had not in Vergil's day gone far. It was left for the Jews to commit the crime of denying other nations the right to claim divinity for their law. 'What the moral government of things meant when it was first asserted was that Jehovah expressly directed the destinies of heathen nations and the course of Nature itself for the final glorification of the Jews. . . . Had the Jews not rendered themselves odious to mankind by this arrogance, and taught Christians and Moslems the same fanaticism, the

nature of religion would not have been falsified among us and we should not now have so much to apologize for and to retract.² Vergil believed in Rome, loved her and hoped (perhaps believed) she had been brought into being and blessed by god (gods). He hoped (perhaps believed) that there was a moral (divine) government of things, but Hebrew-Christian-Moslem arrogant bigotry had no place in his consciousness. It had not yet come, and in that way he was lucky.

Vergil might have become an Epicurean. He plainly was thrilled not only by the magic of the rhythms and language but also by the ideas of Lucretius, who had, or said he had, conquered fear. 'Blessed he, who could know why things happen as they do, who all fears and inexorable fate has trampled under foot along with the groanings in Hell.' He might have agreed with Lucretius that a calm mind, unfrightened by Nature's awful phenomena, is a truer piety than formal adoration of sticks and stones. He might have been persuaded that the gods haunt the 'lucid interspace of world and world' and regard not, nor cause, what happens on our little planet. He might have been, he could not fail to have been, stirred by Lucretius' touching report of the sacrifice of Iphigenia. That breaks the heart of any reader and makes him almost ready to help break the bonds of religion. For religion is, at least in part, 'the sum of scruples that impede the free exercise of our faculties.'³ Aeneas, to be essentially autobiographic, might almost have been willing to flee with Lucretius to the quiet, guarded haunts of learning, whence they might look with sad eyes upon foolish men striving, ant-like, for useless gains and ambitions. For natural man wants but little and that little Nature so willingly supplied him. 'Almost,' I say, for Vergil loved learning, but not quite. For Vergil felt that the hearts of the masses were not wholly wretched nor their minds wholly blind. He wanted at least to be with them, if not to join in their striving. He thought, too, that the ends sought by unhappy men were not wholly vain. For Lucretius, though he scorned or pitied his fellow-men, and found it sweet from safety in his towers of learning to look at their silly efforts in peace and war, yet

could hardly write, he said, in time of cruel, civil war. And, what is more, he sought, and knew that he was seeking fame for the work of his genius, that he knew was transcendent. He was also a conscious missionary of Epicurean light, that saves, as he thinks, all who live by it.

Fame Vergil also knew he wanted and worked for. But more than that, he was a moral idealist and was not wholly convinced either that god, or the gods,⁴ never share or influence events on earth or that man's spiritual nature, his moral idealism which breaks through and functions, in his futile seeming, and apparently, chance-determined efforts, is adequately accounted for in Epicurean naturalism. I can well imagine that Vergil would in the main agree with Lucretius' explanation of myths and gods as objectified human experience, but he would not find them wholly adequate. For Vergil sensed, with Santayana,⁵ that 'There is such an order in experience that we find ourselves doubly (*i.e.*, through fear and need) dependent on something which, because it disregards our will, we call an external power.' Nor was he ready or able, with Lucretius, to refer all phenomena, in which man's life and labor were involved and conditioned, to blind force or fortune. Having, therefore, a sense of social obligation, a social consciousness, as we say today, and a moral idealism, Vergil could not be an Epicurean.

In Stoicism, however, Vergil found much, but not all, that his brooding mind and tender heart craved. Escape from Epicurean asceticism, or near asceticism, participation in the work of poor struggling humanity, a formulation of 'what is fitting' (*kathekon*) into duties to individuals and to society, yielding at least a large part of piety,⁶ resignation to the inevitable, Fate, recognition of the almost, if not quite, divine might of Nature, Providence in Nature and human experience, courage before disaster and trouble—all these, and more, Stoicism had to offer.

Good Aeneas before Dido, broken by passion and fainting from her futile appeal to him steadfastly holding to his obedience to god, while his own heart breaks at once from his inability to help her and his great love for her—this good Aeneas is perhaps a Stoic hero.⁷ Likewise a bit later 'His purpose stands unchanged; tears roll

from his eyes in vain,⁸ in which the first half (*mens immota manet*) says Arnold, 'sums up the whole ethics of Stoicism,'⁹ but does not say that the second half, by its warmth and surrender to feeling, reveals Aeneas as no Stoic.¹⁰ Nor is he a Stoic in his sadness before fainting Dido. For the Stoic condemns no less severely mad passion as sex love than pity. 'The Stoic did what he could to relieve the misfortune of others, but the indulgence of sentimental pity or grief was incompatible with his cheery optimism and faith in providence.'¹¹ The tender, doubting, sceptic moral idealism of Vergil would, therefore, be chilled in strict Stoic circles. The sad, often weeping Aeneas, the union of suffering sympathy in so grand a line as: *Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*,¹² Pallas' prayer¹³ to Hercules—these things spring not from Stoic grim cheerfulness.

Vergil's mind was fashioned in a world made fluid by the sceptics. For Carneades and thinkers after him had dealt devastating blows to dogmatism, and a sensitive, inquiring, poet growing up in such an atmosphere could find no final truth to cling to—certainly none but the Epicurean, which also failed in logic and in ethics.

Aeneid, Book VI best reveals our poet's heart and head. Here we notice first its human inclusiveness and sweep of imagination. The total human tradition to his day is here. Nor, spiritually considered, is much to be added from what man has done or learned from Vergil's day to ours. What better way to envisage past and present, temporary and permanent, values true and values false, the living and the dead, light for coming years from tales of men long or recently dead, significance of forms and actions for souls released by death from bodies, if indeed, they survive at all—what better way, I say, than to imagine a visit by the living to the dead? A visit from the dead to the living? A good way, too, and tried at times,¹⁴ but not so good as the other. For, if man can, or would, attain understanding, his traditions should, at least in part, have marked the way thereto. Or should the '(dead) past bury its dead'? He who said that, be it noted, repeatedly echoed the past of his people. From Daedalus, Minos, Rhadamanthus, that is the pre-Homeric, to Misenus, Palinurus,

and Marcellus, that is the latest dead, we pass in review the total human scene. Cretan ambassador to Athens, Androgeus slain, Athenian youth paying the price of their father's crime, Pasiphae's mad passion for the bull, Daedalus' failing father's hand as he tries to carve on a temple's door his too audacious fallen son to the lately dying young Marcellus, loved and lamented by his mother, prince, and people (deserving praise from the New Deal's most eloquent poet)—What stirring soundings from the depths of man's heart! Wailing souls of babies dead before their parents, innocent dead, condemned though guiltless (this group left undeveloped), broken-hearted women, (Dido at least finding some place in Heaven), suffering sinners in Tartarus (Hell), good men saved and sainted in Elysium (Heaven), souls of sinners made clean by wind or fire or water, a drink from Lethe, forgetfulness of life's hardness, passing through a round of bodies, mighty deeds of mighty Romans to their glory or their shame, leaving all things else to Greeks or others, let the Romans learn to rule, guide mankind in ways of peace, spare the fallen, subdue the proud—this and more in *Aeneid* Book VI.

Parts with parts are not consistent. Man's traditions had not been. Souls of babies, at the first, like those of men unjustly slain, find no passing to happier fates in other bodies, souls of some sinners find no purging, no migration from body to body, though Anchises seems to say they should. Are eternal homes of spirits fixed by what they did when in their bodies, or by magic, mystic forms? True to feeling, true to imagination, true in symbolic suggestion of reason, thus the truth one poet tells, for he knows no final truth wherein is no varying. For truth, as a later poet-philosopher says,¹⁵ and as Vergil seems at times to sense, is a description of things that are, and as existence is contingent, truth must be contingent, too.

Symbol and actuality find their due places in this Book. A living man would visit the dead. Perhaps he might. There are stories of those who, like Odysseus, or Hercules, or Bacchus in Aristophanes, have done so. But a few, favored by Jupiter, of unusual goodness, sons of gods, have made that grim journey. The magic wand

will silence Charon and assure transport over the river that parts the living from the dead, *i.e.* if the fates allow the traveler to rend the golden bough from its tree-trunk. First, Aeneas, duly bury your friend Misenus that his soul may gain transporting. Nor seek to take over unburied the spirit of your pilot, Palinurus, faithful for years of voyaging and drowned from weariness at the end of the way. And 'Away, far away, stay ye, who are unholy,' cries the Sibyl, half mad, half genius, priestess guide to the gloomy realm. Orphic mysteries and others have lent their strange, somber symbolism to the action of the scene. There is more of like kind, but let this suffice.

'Religion,' says Santayana¹⁶ 'Remains an imaginative achievement, a symbolic representation of moral ideality which may have a most important function in vitalizing the mind and in transmitting by way of fables, the lessons of experience. But it becomes at the same time a continuous incidental deception, in proportion as it is strenuously denied to be such; can work indefinite harm in the world and in experience.' Again he says . . . 'religion should not be conceived as having taken the place of anything better, but rather as having come to relieve situations which, but for its presence would be infinitely worse.'¹⁷ Religion, thus conceived, perhaps spoiled by a too great Roman formalism and a readiness to flatter Augustus, but surely sweetened and saved from 'continuous incidental deception' by an all-pervasive doubt and scepticism, lives, I think, in the *Aeneid*.

First place among deities, if deity it be, in Vergil goes to Fate. Aeneas is an exile by fate, *fato profugus*. 'Cherish no hope,' says the Sibyl to Palinurus, 'Cherish no hope that the fates of the gods, *fata deum*, can be changed by prayer.' Juno would have Carthage rule the world 'if the fates allow it,' for she has heard, but seems not to be sure, that her wish is denied by Fate. Laocoon might have saved his people from the trick of the horse 'if it had been the fates of the gods.' Venus is not quite certain that the fates will approve Juno's plan and hers(?) to have Aeneas marry Dido. Ilioneus assures Latinus that the Trojan exiles have come to him under the guidance of the 'fates of the gods,' *fata*

deum. Venus comforts herself for the Fall of Troy by Jupiter's promise of a great future for Trojan refugees, 'setting fate against fate.' Vulcan, fired by the passionate embraces of Venus, his wife, on behalf of her son by Anchises, assures her that if she had made like appeal for her Trojans, he could have helped her. 'Neither the father almighty nor the fates forbade that Troy stand and Priam another ten years.'¹⁸

Jupiter dispatches Mercury to Carthage to set Aeneas again on his way, but seems to assume that Aeneas and he (Jupiter) might disregard 'the cities given by the fates.' And so on, for many references. What is Fate to Vergil? Is Jupiter subject to Fate or Fate to Jupiter in Vergil's mind. Whence comes Fate? Is it, or was it, once free to change or be changed? Has Jupiter any freedom under or over Fate? Have the other dieties, major or minor? Has man? Is the universe deterministic, and is all freedom either in gods or men mere make-believe, seeming real because of the long-range working of Fate in time and place? The answer to such hard questions, so far as it is given in Vergil, is easy, I think. He just did not know and does not frankly face them. He probably had read and heard philosophers discuss the logical, ethical, and metaphysical problems¹⁹ incident to freedom versus destiny, necessity, Fate, and could see and feel the force of them both for thinking and for living. All philosophers recognized the importance of cause and effect and the threat to freedom in divine and human behavior. We may add, I think, that they tended to mean by cause, external rather than internal, and that, making full allowance for inheritance, training, and habit, all that makes for uniqueness of personality, the law of cause and effect might apply and yet seeming freedom function in conduct. Conduct creates Destiny, not Destiny conduct. Vergil: (1) accepts the existent undetermined state of mind on determinism and allows freedom to his characters, including Jupiter, to whom omnipotence and omniscience in a deterministic world would be meaningless; (2) assumes: (a) that certain major ends have apparently been set by Fate or Deity or both, and that these will be effected despite Jupiter himself (here there is

room for a doubtful Providence); (b) that the universe somehow is kind to and favors righteousness in men, a belief, often weak before the cruel facts of suffering good men unaided by any god and the very helplessness of god to save them; (3) reveals a strong faith in Rome and that her triumphant career had been in accord with Destiny and achieved through the favor of Jupiter and despite, or thanks to, conflicts of other divine forces; (4) in conforming to literary tradition, common popular practice and moral and religious reforms of the time, and in order to create in ways intelligible to his contemporaries and himself a cosmic religious atmosphere, he uses common and familiar methods of divination and religious rites. Such resorts to divine apparatus afford him, of course, as it had done for Homer, an excellent means of handling his incidents, warning his readers, or leaving them in suspense as he thinks best for his art. But, if not deadened by dogma, traditional rites and tales may convey living religion, adding new power to old.

The action of the *Aeneid* therefore depends but little upon divine intervention or direction. Things would happen as they do from natural causes in the circumstances and the minds of the actors. But Aeneas is, like Vergil, not only a seeker of an earthly home but a religious idealist, a seeker of wisdom.

The gods, or the divine, in the *Aeneid* fall into the following groups, all more or less like man, subject, as said, to Fate: (1) Jupiter, monarch of earth and sky, if not really of sea and Hades; (2) major gods under Jupiter, of which only Juno and Venus are used much; (3) minor deities, like Mercury and Iris, Cupid and Alecto, Aeolus and Juturna (Juno calls in many aides, Venus depends on herself and on Cupid); (4) revelation through natural phenomena taken to be from god, dreams, messages from the dead, gods in disguise or very presence. Of the great gods only Venus, I think, is allowed to reveal her very self to mortal eyes, and she only to Aeneas, her son. Venus seems to think Jupiter can fix the future and has only to make and keep his promises for her beloved refugees. Juno has heard that her foes will succeed and triumph over her favorites but hopes either that the rumor is false or that she can fool the Fates.

Or if she could only make Jupiter²⁰ love her as once he did and as was fitting, he might change the future of Turnus, *i.e.* defeat Fate or change it. The one thing Jupiter stands for is this: Aeneas shall get through, Rome shall have her beginning and be set on her triumphant march. By the neat device of prophecy after the fact he can in consolation to Venus read the secrets of the years to come, sketch the history of Rome with an eloquent praise for Augustus, and hope that civil war is over at last. He can boast that he has given the Romans power without limit in time or place, but Vergil does not let Jupiter prophesy more than hope for what is to follow Augustus, *i.e.* the author's time. At times 'the father of gods and king of men' becomes a bit absurd. As when, in Book X, before the gods in council he declares that he has forbidden a war against the Trojans in Italy, whereas he had told Venus in Book I there was to be such a war; and did he know what Celaeno had foretold for Aeneas? Or did he know tradition in Book I and forget it in Book X? Also, he seems helpless before contending Venus and Juno at the same assembly, nor is he sure²¹ why things have been going as they have. This neutral spirit is all the funnier because it follows a description of the awful might and majesty of Jupiter. He will now be, and the other gods must be neutral. 'What is to be will find a way to be'—*Fata viam invenient*, quoting Helenus to Aeneas in Book III. 395, who adds, 'and you will find help through prayer to Apollo.' He can not save, nor can Hercules save, the devout young hero Pallas, but can deliver an immortal judgment on human greatness in frailty as he turns away in wondering helpless pity.²² When the stress and strain are over and Juno, partly on his suggestion, has done her utmost to save Turnus and thwart Venus and Aeneas, he can draw the curtain over the scene. Things have ended as he said they would. Juno has failed. Turnus must face Aeneas, to whom he will be no equal. Juturna, sister of Turnus and once a sweetheart of, and made immortal by, Jupiter, supports Turnus, while Venus stands by Aeneas. Proud to the end, eager to fight on, if she could, Juno requests only that the name, the identity and the language of the Trojans be lost, and Latin speech

and character alone prevail. This granted, to Latin-Jupiter will add Trojan ways and sacred rites and Juno's mighty name will be splendidly adored in Rome.

Kings and people had built a city, Troy, rich and mighty through long years. Mighty men had fought to save and take her. Gods against her, gods within, but her gods had left her fallen fortress. 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust him.' Holy fire and sacred symbols saved from the city which they could not save seem to guard and guide their pious guardians, till they find new hearths to bless. From dangers fleeing, through dangers going, their helpless gods aboard their ships, these pious guardians seek and win for their holy burden a place at last secure and holy. Gods and men may war against her, Rome at last will stay their strife, crush the proud, and spare the humbled. Gods with gods shall strive no longer, for at Rome are greater honors, finer temples, grander rites more safely guarded, mightier men, than where they came from. This almost Hebraic arrogance, making the Jewish god the only true God whom all other gods and peoples, will they, nill they, must bow down to and serve, is somewhat relieved by sceptic wonder, 'majestic sadness at the doubtful doom of human kind.' Not because he foretold Jesus the Messiah, but because he felt and told of a rational religion, piety drinking at elemental sources, Nature and tradition, and carrying them on, loyal devotion to ideal ends, remodelling what it gets, looking to men and years ahead,²³ were the Christians right to find in Vergil a sort of pagan Christian. For Vergil's religion, like the Christian, was a true religion, entirely human and political, and his 'supernatural machinery was symbolic of natural conditions and moral aims.'²⁴ If only his Roman arrogance had not so easily fallen into the Hebraic!

NOTES

¹ Santayana, *Life of Reason*, III, 10.

² Santayana, *Ibid.* 77.

³ Salomon Reinach, *Orpheus* (1930), Eng. Trans. p. 4.

⁴ To a polytheist the singular or plural is equally appropriate. It is only two ways of viewing the same facts.

⁵ *Life of Reason*, III, 30.

⁶ 'Piety in its nobler and Roman sense, may be said

to mean man's reverent attachment to the sources (*i.e.* family, ancestors, country (city), humanity) of his being and the steadying of his life by that attachment.' (Santayana, *Ibid.* III, 179)

⁷ *Aeneid* IV. 393-5.

⁸ *Aeneid* IV. 449.

⁹ Pease, on *Aen.* IV. 449.

¹⁰ I find no good Stoic treatment of sex love other than approval of family ties as part of a good (wise) man's duty. Seneca calls it madness. See Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean*, (1910), p. 109.

¹¹ Hicks, *op. cit.* 107.

¹² Untranslatable, but (even in Carthage) 'there is weeping for (our) sorrows and human hearts are touched with pity.' *Aeneid* I. 462.

¹³ Too long a passage to quote in full and one containing a sort of Stoic nerve advised for man by Jupiter, while he can but 'turn his eyes' from the sad scene.

¹⁴ For example, in a small way such things as 'Death Takes a Holiday', and 'Here Comes Mr. Jordan.'

¹⁵ Santayana, *Realm of Truth*, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Life of Reason*, III, 12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 12.

¹⁸ *Aen.* VIII, 395-9.

¹⁹ See, *e.g.*, Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean*, 344 ff.

²⁰ *Aeneid*, X. 611 ff.

²¹ 104 ff.

²² *Aeneid* X. 467 ff., which is, of course, an echo of a grander scene in *Iliad* XVI. 431 ff.

²³ Santayana, *Life of Reason*, III, 276.

²⁴ Santayana, *Ibid.* 276-7.

W. P. CLARK

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

THE JOINT LANGUAGE FRONT IN NEW JERSEY*

Origin. The Joint Activities Committee was formed as a result of the passage in 1945, just at the close of the recent war, of an enactment by the New Jersey legislature which imposed an additional year of United States History upon the high schools of the state. As this additional and compulsory year of United States History could only work to the disadvantage of elective subjects, a meeting of the State Association of heads of departments was called at Newark Teachers' College to consider the implications of this act of the legislature. The foreign-language department heads, regarding the position of languages as being especially jeopardized by the act, decided that further action was necessary to prevent serious curtailment of language instruction. A series of meetings was held, attended by about fifteen other veteran language teachers

as invited guests. These fifteen were finally added to the original group which then adopted the name, Joint Activities Committee of the Foreign Language Teachers' Association. The committee thus organized served to unite the strength of both the ancient and modern Language Associations of New Jersey.

Purpose. The purpose of the Committee was three-fold: (1) the protection of the existing status of language teaching in New Jersey, (2) the improvement of current language teaching, and (3) the promotion of wider and more general knowledge of foreign languages occasioned by the entrance of the United States into a position of world leadership.

Program. The first move in this program was directed toward the preservation of the existing status of language teaching in New Jersey. A delegation of three committee members conferred at Trenton with the Assistant Commissioner in charge of secondary education. At this conference the future status of language teaching in New Jersey was discussed, with special attention given to the threat of serious curtailment of advanced elective classes under the impact of the compulsory United States History course and it was pointed out that this course should not be inserted in the schedule for the 11th grade. The Assistant Commissioner asserted that the State authorities could not issue even a recommendation (though one is issued in the case of English) as to the disposition of the history course in the high-school curriculum: that this was purely a local matter, one to be handled at the discretion of high school principals.

A letter was then sent to the State Commissioner on the matter. In his reply the commissioner graciously noted our interest in language teaching and suggested the need for a redefinition of the aims of language teaching. The committee then sent letters to about fifty language teachers requesting their reactions to the Commissioner's suggestion of a needed redefinition of language teaching aims. On the basis of many replies a report was assembled and sent to the Commissioner. Some time later an acknowledgment of the report was received, in which another mention of the need for redefinition of language teaching was included.

As a second step, late in the spring of 1946 a conference was called by the Modern Language Department of Princeton University to consider the status of language teaching in New Jersey. Members of the Activities Committee were present and presented the need for the improvement of current language teaching. The Princeton department members were impressed by the presentation and invited the committee members to return at a later date for further discussion. In August the invitation was accepted and the result of this meeting was a promise of assistance by the Princeton professors. At a subsequent meeting in Newark, to which the professors were invited, it was agreed that Princeton should send out a statement regarding the amount and quality of language knowledge not only acceptable to but preferred by them in the preparation of all Freshmen candidates. Such a preliminary statement has been received by the Activities Committee but its publication has been delayed up to the present by the demands of the Princeton Bicentennial Celebration, which extended throughout the entire college year 1946-47.

The third part of our program, which dealt with emphasis on the vital need for more general knowledge of foreign languages because of the international leadership of the United States, was approached indirectly. The provisions of the proposed new state secondary teaching certificate included the following requirement: a basic minimum of thirty semester hours, made up of 6 s.h. of English, 6 of Social Studies and the remaining 18 to be presented in Science, Fine Arts, and Mathematics. As the old requirement, adopted in 1937, had mentioned only English, Social Studies, and Science, it appeared that the change was being made to allow for the inclusion of Fine Arts and Mathematics. The Committee wired the Commissioner at once protesting the omission of foreign languages in the new list of subjects acceptable in the 30 s.h. requirements, emphasizing the need for teachers in this critical period who had some knowledge of a language other than English and denying to Fine Arts or Mathematics any prior claim to preferred treatment. After an exchange of correspondence with the Commissioner, it now appears that Foreign languages will be accorded

mention in the list of subjects acceptable in this 30 s.h. minimum requirement for the secondary teaching certificate.

Results. At the present moment the Committee feels that it has achieved some measure of success in its efforts: (1) It has brought to the State Commissioner's attention the basic weaknesses of the language situation, i.e. the damage done to elective courses by the imposition of a compulsory course in history, the effect on language teaching of the changed character of the high-school population, the unevenness of foreign language instruction, the neutral attitude of high-school guidance officers and counselors toward the importance of language study, the need for real support of foreign language study by higher school administrators.

(2) It has impressed upon the Princeton Modern Language Department that further relaxation of entrance requirements is detrimental in two ways: (a) It weakens the status of foreign languages in the state high-schools by allowing high school principals to curtail language instruction to the point just necessary to meet lowered entrance requirements; (b) It forces highly trained language specialists to spend their time teaching not on the college but on the high-school level. The Committee showed that a continuation of the present tendency toward lowered entrance requirements in foreign language study could only result in an absurd situation. Most college students would then begin their study of languages in college, and language study would virtually disappear from the high school.

(3) It has improved the prestige of language study by securing its inclusion among the subjects regarded as acceptable in making up the aggregate of the 30 s.h. minimum requirement for the secondary teaching certificate. This inclusion does not mean that candidates for the certificate must present evidence of language knowledge; it does mean that language knowledge is not regarded as inconsequential in comparison with English, Social Studies, Science, Fine Arts, and Mathematics. In this era of international and domestic intolerance the least that should be demanded of prospective teachers is that they should know enough of some foreign language

to correct their own attitudes and thus improve the attitudes of their students.

Proposed Activities. The Committee is determined now to extend its activities. It intends to approach the State Commissioner with the request that it be empowered to construct a new foreign language syllabus for the state. At present no syllabus is in print and no work on one has been authorized for twenty years. The present day, with all the new emphasis produced by two world wars and by policies like that of the Good Neighbor and that of President Truman, demands a revision of language aims and objectives. A new syllabus would meet this demand, would supply leadership to language teachers in all parts of the state, and would reduce the present unevenness in language instruction. The Committee hopes too, that through publicity it may be able to arouse language teachers in other states to vigorous action along similar lines. Citizenship in the One World of the future will be a mockery if the citizens are separated and suspicious of one another because of speech barriers. Knowledge of foreign languages must be insisted upon now or the evils of intolerance now evident within our own nation will be continued on a larger scale in the future organization of all nations into One World.

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THE MESSAGE OF VERGIL'S *GEORGICS*

Vergil (70-19 B.C.) is the conscience of a renascent Roman world. To understand the significance of his *Georgics* (37-29 B.C.) one must see them as a beacon-light to the Mayflower of man's hope of survival as a social being, guiding it out of the raging seas of violent social storm into a safe haven in which ancient Pilgrims could build their hopes anew. For a century before the appearance of the *Georgics* the Roman Government, republican in its processes, had been trying, in vain, to administer an extensive overseas empire, which it had acquired through the

generations by virtue of its growing prestige and power. But the machinery of administration was inadequate to the given task, and the social forces operating from without upon the governing society were sufficiently strong and complex to uproot not only the processes of administration but also the outer behavior of Roman society in general from the fertile soil of integrity, of character, rightness, and values. Within a century the Roman had lost the heritage by which alone he could have remained true to himself and serviceable to the world which he controlled. The result was a miserable century, in which government was often reduced to gangsterism, business to a racket, service to exploitation, order to disorder, and language to an instrument of scheming, often with a vocabulary of righteousness. Living in those times was a better opportunity than influence. Despite the schools, and often through the schools, man educates himself to the destruction of his society and himself.

Vergil grew up amid, and was himself a victim of, the scheming of the last years of this social disintegration. The *Georgics* are significant in the light of their relation to it and to the subsequent spiritual history of the Roman world. That the long-continued exhausting and exploiting of the soil of Italy had spent its force is evident in the new attention to and appreciation of the soil in the years immediately preceding the publication of the *Georgics* in the writings of Lucretius, Cicero, Varro, and in the agrarian plans of Caesar. Vergil also knew and used the traditional literature of his subject as found in Cato, Xenophon, and Hesiod. But the indebtedness of Vergil to his literary predecessors is of little importance as compared with the revolutionary significance of the *Georgics* in and of themselves.

A careful reading of the *Georgics* reveals in them a new philosophy of farming with a three-fold program in relation to the soil: to work, to pray, and to cooperate. The *Georgics* are a detailed manual of work with the soil, trees, herds, and flocks, and bees. The Vergilian farmer is faced with work which is both exact and exacting, hard, and unremitting. To it he must bend his efforts (1.198). The place for the

plough is deep in the furrow, and it should shine with wear (1.46) and with repeated work (1.98; 2.51). In turn, under the ploughshare the field glistens for him (2.211). The rake and the sickle should have constant use. Indeed, good relations with the soil do not exclude firmness even to the extent of a kind of martial law (1.99; 2.369-70; cf. also Cicero, *De Senectute* 51). In his work man should enlist the strength of his cattle (1.64-5, 210; 2.237). One should not be ashamed of trifling chores (1.177), nor of a small farm (2.412f.). But, hard though the work be, the farmer could well bear it patiently, as does his wife, who relieves her long toil at the loom with song:

longum cantu solata laborem
arguto coniunx percurrit pectine telas (1.293f.).
Success comes out of great care over trifles (3.112, 308) and out of work unflinching:

Labor omnia vicit
improbis (1.145).
But yet the glory of trifling tasks is not trifling:
in tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria (4.6).

His bees should remind him that there is a healthy hum in the combined efforts of all when they direct their efforts to a common task (4.184). For their love of their work is great and they glory in the creativeness of it. Vergil says this in one of the most beautiful and constructive lines in poetry:

tantus amor florum et generandi gloria
mellis (4.205).

In Vergil prayer came from the beating heart, not from the mumbling lips. From the point of view of the Rome which was contemporary with Vergil prayer had a more promising future than immediate past. Whereas Lucretius denied the divine in the organic structure of the world and in the traditional polytheistic theology, Vergil overtaxed the religion of his forefathers with a new faith and a horizon of hope. To the gods he attributed a devoted interest in man and a minute care for the well-being of the natural world with which the *Georgics* are concerned. Liber and fostering Ceres, Pan, Minerva, Triptolemus, Pales, and Jupiter, among others, extend their effective help in the respective provinces of their interests. There is repeated emphasis

on the effectiveness of prayer. The countryside enjoys the glory of being inhabited with deities:

divini gloria ruris (1.168).

They are interested (1.21), amenable to entreaty (4.535f.) and they have the blessings of better things for the pious:

di meliora piis (3.513).

The third recurring note in Vergil's philosophy of farming in the *Georgics* is that in return for the bounties which the earth yields both to the efforts of man and also of its own accord (2.438f., 500f.) man should not begrudge to it its few needs (2.433). Though the harvest is generous enough to respond to the prayers of the greedy farmer

seges . . . votis respondet avari
agricolae (1.47f),

yet the ploughshare is necessary, too (2.423f). The rewards for one's care of the flocks are many (3.308-13). The seed is called the 'hope of the year' (*anni spes*, 1.224). Hope is the horizon of experience. A farmer who is willing to learn the likes and dislikes, the needs, the personality, and inherited behavior patterns of the countryside will be rewarded beyond his small efforts (1.52-6; 2.459f.). The fruits of the soil have varied inbred natures which respond differently to different treatments (2.9-19). Some expect certain things from the farmer (2.26f.); others do not need his help, as, for example, the olive and the apple (2.420; 2.426-8). The tender and the young must be protected while tender and young (2.362f.). Later they require no further help. It is expedient for the farmer to learn the appropriate culture of the respective kinds (2.35). The earth will be grateful to him for his care (1.83), and responsive (2.222f.). Occasionally it will even ask for its needs (2.324). At times it will itself be surprised at its own harvest (1.103; 2.82).

This philosophy of farming—consisting of work, prayer, and cooperation with the soil—is startlingly new in the light of the historical background of Roman society as stated at the beginning of this article. For Roman society had come into a position in which work was regarded as an old-fashioned, but sometimes necessary infringement upon the rights of a citizen, in which prayer was a naive reversion to rusticity, and in

which cooperation was a sign of weakness. Vergil is really recommending not a philosophy of farming, but a philosophy of living, a complete new concept of living in which a relationship of rightness between man and Nature and man and the divine not only establishes the essential integrity of all, but also contributes to the fullest possible well-being of all. Expedience, like practicality, sometimes is best served by self-neglect. Vergil advocates trying his new way on the nut tree, which will give it a chance to flower.

Contemplator item, cum se nux plurima silvis
induet in florem et ramos curvabit olentes

(1.187f.).

If it works, why not try it on man? That is what Christ thought. Meanwhile, Vergil's good farmer will reap the many dividends accruing to right relationships with his environment and become the happy man (2.458-60, 467-74, 513-40).

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THIRD CONJUGATION, PRESENT INDICATIVE

This is the second article¹ intended to give the classroom teacher a certain amount of technical information about Latin forms which will assist in understanding and teaching elementary Latin. In view of the purpose of the article, the history of the forms will be given in a simplified manner and certain changes which occurred are not discussed.

It must first be understood that third-conjugation verbs differ from those of other conjugations in having a 'thematic' vowel between the stem and the person endings. Elementary texts often give a surprising amount of misinformation about it; many state that the vowel is 'either *i* or *u*.' The truth is that the vowel is, by origin, either *o* or *e*. The former occurs in first person singular and plural and in third person plural. The latter occurs in second person singular and plural and in third person singular. Those who know elementary Greek may see these vowels, in unchanged form, in *e.g.*, the imperfect indicative of λύω : ἔλυον, ἔλυνες, ἔλυνε, ἐλύομεν, ἐλύετε, ἔλυνον.

Thus, our paradigm of *ago*, at one stage of the

Latin language, would look like this; disregarding certain other changes:

ag-o-ō	ag-o-mus	ag-o-r	ag-o-mur
ag-e-s	ag-e-tis	ag-e-ris	ag-e-mini
ag-e-t	ag-o-nt	ag-e-tur	ag-o-ntur

A glance at this set of forms will show that in only two of them has no change of the thematic vowel occurred: *ducor* and *duceris*.² The changes in the other forms are explained thus:

A phenomenon called 'vowel weakening' (which does not occur in Greek) causes changes in certain short vowels under certain conditions, viz:

A short -e- before final -s or -t becomes -i-; hence *ag-e-s > agis³; *ag-e-t > agit.

A short -e- in an open⁴ medial syllable becomes -i-; hence *ag-e-tis > agitis; *ag-e-mini > agimini. But weakening of this vowel does not occur before -r-; hence *ageris* remains unchanged.

Short -o- > -u- in agunt and aguntur (though even in Classical Latin there are plenty of examples of such forms with the -o- preserved). The same change would be expected in both *ag-o-mus and *ag-o-mur. But we find -i- in both these forms. This is because of the -i- in the paradigm which occurs before the person ending in forms preceding and following the first person plural. Observe that in verbs where this -i- does not occur, we have -u-: *sumus*, *volumus*.

Of course, agō is merely a contraction of *ag-o-ō; agor is unchanged.

Observe that precisely the same phenomena are found in the future tense of first and second conjugation.

NOTES

¹ J. F. Gummere, *Third Declension, Worse Confounded*, CW 39.142-3.

² Textbooks (and teachers) have been known to make statements to the effect that *duceris* is 'irregular.'

³ A star preceding a form indicates that it is hypothetical; the symbol > means 'becomes.'

⁴ An 'open' syllable is a syllable that does not end in a consonant. This principle explains *contineō* from *teneō*; *militis* and *miles*; *nōminis* and *nōmen*, etc., etc.

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THE PROBLEM OF TRANSLATION

For students and teachers of Latin, the method of translation is an important problem. It may, therefore, be of interest to consider the standard set by a fifteenth-century scholar, Bruni of Aretino, who was considered highly successful in the translation of Greek into Latin. Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444) was famous in his time for his mastery of Latin style, as well as for his translation from the Greek, a language which, it is said, no Italian had understood for the past seven centuries.¹ His ability as a Latinist brought him the position of Papal Secretary, which he held for ten years. His translations from the Greek, especially from Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Plutarch, gave him his reputation for scholarship. For the last seventeen years of his life, Bruni was Chancellor of the Republic of Florence, which added much to his fame in his own day.² His *Epistles* were considered models of good Latin.³

The following letter, translated from Bruni, *Epistles* I. 8,⁴ speaks of the writer's enthusiasm for Plato, and the influence of his intimate acquaintance with Plato on his translation of that author. The letter is thought to refer to the translation of the *Phaedo*.⁵

Leonardo greets Nicolaus;⁶ he commends Plato and discusses his own method of translating Plato.

'Although in earlier times also, my Nicolaus, I used greatly to love your Plato (for so I like to call him in whose behalf on every occasion you have fought against the host of the unlearned), yet since I began to turn his dialogue into Latin, the wealth of my affection has so greatly increased that I seem now to love the man himself, and earlier to have merely esteemed him. Guard against believing that anything can be found written with more wisdom or fluency. This, indeed, I now realize more than before, since, because of my care in translation, I must completely crumble one by one the words of Plato, and even smell them.

I am exceedingly grateful to Coluccius,⁷ my father and teacher, who by enjoining this task has conferred upon me so great a boon. For previously I had merely seen Plato; now, indeed, as it seems to me, I have actually become acquainted with him. If ever I shall have finished his books and shall have rendered them in such Latin as we eagerly desire, verily you, my Nicolaus, will scorn whatever you have hitherto read in comparison with the majesty of that illustrious man. For there is

in him the utmost urbanity, the greatest reasonableness and discernment in discussion; the richly admirable opinions of the disputants are set forth with extraordinary pleasantness and remarkable fluency. In the discourse there is, indeed, the greatest ease united with an abundant and admirable graciousness, *χάρις*, as the Greeks say. Nothing is labored; nothing is extreme. Everything is said as by a man who has words and their laws under his control, with a nature in itself richly excellent, expressing all concepts of the mind with the highest facility and charm. Such certainly is Plato to the Greeks; unless I shall have shown him such to the Latins also, they should clearly understand that he has suffered by my imperfections, and they must consider that they are reading not Plato, but my inept translation. But I do promise to take pains to prevent this from happening. I do not promise to succeed, for I should not dare to promise so much for myself, but, unless I am mistaken, this, certainly, I will perform: that you may read your Plato without annoyance. I add, even, that you may read him with very great pleasure. That, as I think, was offered you neither by Calcidius nor by this other, who very properly suppressed his own name.

But they perchance have proceeded in one way, and I in another. For they, deserting Plato, have pursued the translation of words, while I cling close to Plato, whom I have pictured to myself, and, indeed, as knowing Latin so that he can judge; and I employ him as a witness of the translation of his own works, and I translate in the way that I know is especially pleasing to him. In the first place, then, I preserve all ideas, so that I may not swerve from them even in the very least. Then, if it is possible to render the passage word for word without any awkwardness or absurdity, I do that most willingly. But if that cannot be done, I am certainly not so timid as to think that I incur the charge of *lèse majesté*, if, while preserving the thought, I depart a little from the words to avoid absurdity. This, indeed, Plato himself in person bids me do, for since to the Greeks his style is graceful and elegant, he certainly would not wish it to seem inept to the Latins.

If, with confidence in this method of translation, I shall not have accomplished what I have promised you, indeed, I shall not refuse to be sentenced to hard labor.³

But enough of this. It is satisfactory that the oration in which I have heaped up the praises of the Florentines be entitled *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis*. You will take care that Coluccius sees it. Farewell.'

September 5.⁹

NOTES

¹ John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1908), 2. pp. 19-20.

² Sandys, *op. cit.* 2. pp. 45-7. See also John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy* (Reprint: The Modern Library. New York. First Modern Library Edition), 2. 413-4. Both references offer information about

the life and work of Bruni, to whom they give high praise among the Italian Humanists.

³ Sandys, *op. cit.* 2.47.

⁴ *Leonardi Bruni Aretini Epistolarum Libri VIII Recensente Laurentio Mehus* (Florence, 1741), 1. 8, pp. 15-7.

⁵ Hans Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino* (Berlin, 1928), p. 196.

⁶ Nicolaus Nicolus, in Latin (in Italian, Niccolode Niccoli), 1363-1437, collected, copied, and collated ancient MSS. Not himself a writer, he was, nevertheless, a distinguished critic of Latin style, and also a sympathetic adviser of classical scholars, young or old. He is said never to have known Greek intimately. See Sandys, *op. cit.* 2. pp. 19, 43-4, and Symonds, *op. cit.* 2. pp. 411-3.

⁷ Coluccio Salutati, 1330-1406, collected and collated MSS., summarized Cicero's Letters, encouraged the study of Greek in Florence, and inspired younger men to engage in scholarly work. Bruni was one of those whom he influenced. Salutati was Chancellor of Florence from 1375 to 1406. Sandys, *op. cit.* pp. 17-9.

⁸ —*quominus in pistrinum dedar*, 'sent (as a slave) to the poundingmill'. An example of Bruni's easy use of Latin.

⁹ Probably to be dated September, 1403 or 1404. See Baron, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-6.

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REVIEWS

Hermes der Seelenfuehrer: das Mythologem vom maennlichen Lebensursprung. By KARL KERÉNYI. 111 pp., 1 Pl. (Albae Vigiliae, neue Folge, Zuerich, Rhein-Verlag, 1944, I)

Most modern study of Greek religion has been analytic; it has sought to distinguish between what is early and what is late and to trace development. Again it has stressed the distinction between cult (and beliefs and myths associated with it) and literary elaborations of myth. It has rejected the allegorical attempts of later antiquity to find a deeper meaning in sacred stories. A reaction is in process and Kerényi supports it with his great acuteness and learning.

His point of view is expressed in the question with which he begins, 'Was erschien den Griechen als Hermes?' *erschien*; he postulates a reality of which the Greeks became aware, a personality, a total personality possessed of various aspects—not a name to which various aspects or attributes could be ascribed. After discussing the evidence of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Hymn to*

Hermes, and the topic 'Hermes and the night', he gives his answer (64), 'die überindividuelle Quelle einer besonderen Welterfahrung und Weltgestaltung'. He then develops it under the title of 'the Hermes of life and death', with special sections on Hermes and Eros, Hermes and the Goddesses, the mystery of the herm, Hermes and the ram, and Silenus and Hermes. With Hermes as a divine reality goes the world of Hermes, a world in which things (including death) appear in a different light, a world of skillful leading and sudden gains, a world including the phallic as well as the intellectual, the unashamed as well as the mild and gracious (57). For the definition of 'world' we may note (65), 'Mythologisch gesprochen; ein jeder Gott ist der Ursprung einer Welt, die ohne ihn unsichtbar bleibt, mit ihm aber sich in ihrer Sichtbarkeit ueber das naturwissenschaftliche Weltbild hinausgehend offenbart'. Kerényi proceeds to quote from the *Symposium* the tale of the birth of Eros and to describe it as 'eine echtes Mythologem' (67). Well, it can be called a Mythologem in the style of the allegory about the *Litai* or Prayers in *Il.* IX 502 ff., but only so. Kerényi then tells us (70) that Eros is 'ein etwas idealistischer und duemmer geratener Sohn des Hermes'. That the evidence adduced for this is late does not necessarily exclude the idea, for the date at which a story appears need not be the earliest at which it can be thought to have come into circulation. Nilsson has found the annual birth of his Divine Child in Antoninus Liberalis, and local antiquarians and writers on mythology from a broader standpoint in the Hellenistic age did rescue tales which had not found a place in the general mythology of the classical age. Nevertheless, it is very hazardous to infer 'ein andere, geheimere Überlieferung' (70) that Eros was son of Hermes from a statement in *Cic. N. D.* III 60, which comes somewhat after cognate material introduced by a reference (42) to those *qui interiores scrutantur et reconditas litteras*. Cicero from the Academic standpoint is making fun of the Stoic use of myths (cf. III 53 *dicamus igitur*. . . with II 62 *suscepit autem*. . .). For this purpose he draws upon an elaborate essay in the old and common style of reconciling discrepancies in mythology

by postulating a plurality of figures with the same name. Herodotus II 43 f. did this for Heracles: cf. R. Hirzel, *Ber. saechs. Ges. Wiss.* XLVIII (1896), 277ff. for abundant material; he remarks, 310 f., on the unusual character of the myths quoted by Cicero. *Interiores* means deep in the library, not deep in the shrine; J. B. Mayor rightly illustrated it by *Ad. famil.* III 10.9; VIII 33.2 (neither ironical).

Similar objections could be made to other individual points in the argument. There is one much more grave. The Greeks would certainly have agreed that the gods were persons; unlike most of us, they would have dissented from Farnell's view as quoted by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, xii, that the unity of an ancient god consisted less in his nature than in his name. In fact, Herodotus II 52 f. speaks of the gods as called simply *theoi* by the Pelasgians and given names by the Egyptians (cf. 4), as also of their family history as established by Hesiod and Homer and their appellations and honors and accomplishments and shapes as having been indicated by these same poets. The Egyptians correspond to Adam naming the animals, Hesiod and Homer correspond to Cuvier. Again, a deity could have more than one name and at the popular as well as at the speculative level could be regarded as equivalent to a personification or abstraction, and abundant cult was paid to figures whose names indicated that they were such, e.g. Nemesis and Eros. Yet, as Boyancé remarked, Kerényi's ideas appear to be linked to his language;¹ certainly they could not be expressed in Greek. It is sometimes appropriate to interpret men's behavior and thought in terms of associations and presuppositions of which they are not aware. Kerényi's 'world of . . .' could in a sense be applied to Zeus as god of justice, notably from the time of Hesiod on, and Zeus, like Hades, had his *arche* or empire. It could be applied to the Apollo of the *Eumenides*, to the Dionysus of the *Bacchae* (who in a sense made all things new). But it cannot be used of Hermes unless on a much humbler plane. Whatever his later association with culture, he fitted Arcadia, with the full range of pastoral interests; the increase of flocks and herds, by reproduction and sometimes by theft or trick (cf. Jacob and Laban);

the luck of finding and keeping; the protection of croft and house and room; the music and contests in prowess which also belonged to this life;² the guidance of man on journeys in general and on his last journey. Further, he was subordinate, throughout the time covered by our tradition,³ if not before it. How he took shape, and in fact such clearly defined shape, whether he had a pre-Greek element,⁴ how his functions were interrelated, how he became generally accepted—these are problems which perhaps admit of no definite answer.⁵ As to his diversity of functions, the truth is probably that when a deity had acquired a strongly marked individuality, he was easily credited with this or that interest of his worshippers.

Worshipped he was, and sometimes even in later days with a curious intensity.⁶ We may differ widely from Kerényi as to the implications of this worship, but he can help us all by his reminder of the serious religion which went with the playfulness, as well as by his wealth of interesting detail.⁷

NOTES

¹ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* XLVIII (1946), 136 ff.; H. J. Rose, *Cl. Rev.* LX (1946), 93. Rose reviews other recent works of Kerényi, *ib.* LXI (1947), 24 f., as does K. v. Fritz, *Rev. Relig.* XI (Jan. 1947), 159 ff. On the ideas involved see, above all, M. P. Nilsson, *Gnomon*, XI (1935), 177 ff.

² The epithet *enagonios* appears at Athens about 500 B.C. (L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 91, n. 12).

³ L. R. Farnell, *Cults*, V, 15 says 'In old Arcadia it is probable that Hermes was once himself a high god of life and death'. This is possible, but we must recall the antiquity of the cult of Zeus Lykaeos.

⁴ Cf. J. Chittenden, *Hesperia*, XVI (1947), especially 105 ff. She sees in Hermes the pre-Greek 'Master of Animals'. There may well have been fusion of a pre-Greek and a Greek concept under a Greek name, as happened in the instance of Demeter, and perhaps of Artemis. But Hermes must belong in part at least to the invading Greeks; whether we do or do not agree with the arguments of H. Goldman, *AJA* XLVI (1942), 58 ff.: so too herms, since the other evidence for the phallic associations of Hermes is undeniable.

⁵ On Hermes there is a good statement in H. J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, 145 ff.: for later discussions cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, and *Geschichte d. gr. Rel.*, I, 471 ff. (cf. *ib.* 49 for general remarks on the development of divine individuality).

⁶ E.g. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 815.

⁷ On Hermaphroditus (74), add the significant dedica-

tion by an Athenian woman in the fourth century B. C. (J. Kirchner-S. Dow, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, 7) as a parallel to Alciphron II, 35 (with the manuscript reading).

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Eranos Rudbergianus. *Opuscula philologica* Gunnaro Rudberg a. d. xvi Kal. Nov. anno memxlv dedicata. [xvi], 510 pp., portrait frontispiece. (Göteborg, Elanders Boktryckeri, 1946.) Kr. 25

This volume, which is also the 44th volume of *Eranos*, was issued as a tribute to Gunnar Rudberg, Professor at the University of Uppsala, on the occasion of his 65th birthday. It contains 40 scholarly studies, varying in length from 3 to 24 pages, on topics within the general field of Greco-Roman civilization and its later influence. The authors are all located in Sweden except five (A. J. Festugière, Paris; Eduard Fraenkel, Oxford; Olof Gigon, Freiburg in Switzerland; Werner Jaeger, Harvard; L. R. Palmer, London). In the usual commendable way of Scandinavian scholars, they have avoided the use of less generally understood languages, giving us 16 articles in English, 14 in German, 8 in French, 2 in Latin.

A critical review of such a volume is impossible, since it would have to consist of 40 separate reviews, and for these there is not space. One can however mention the subjects of those articles which seem either the most important or the most interesting—a subjective criterion of selection, but unavoidable: Axel W. Persson, 'Earliest Traces of the Belief in a Life after Death in our Civilization' (pages 1-13); Martin P. Nilsson, 'The New Conception of the Universe in Late Greek Paganism' (20-7); L. R. Palmer, on the use of the pole lathe in ancient Greece (54-61); Arnold Svensson, on a certain use in Greek of the generalizing definite article where English does not use it (249-65); Gudmund Björck, on the Greek idiom 'to see a dream = to dream' (306-14); Axel Nelson, on the possible origin and meaning of the magic word *abracadabra* (326-36); Einar Löfstedt, on some changes of meaning in Late and Medieval Latin,

mostly involving shift of meaning or re-etymologizing (340-54); Erik Wistrand, on the development of a new meaning of *invidia* as *injuria*, which is seen even in Seneca (355-69); Axel Boethius, on Nero's Golden House, with discussion of Parthian influence in its building (442-59). But every reader must sample for himself to find that which is valuable or interesting to him; we shall not all choose alike.

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Plan to attend the

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